

## Message Text

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44

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

ACDA-19 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 AEC-11 AECE-00 OIC-04 OMB-01

SAM-01 CU-04 NIC-01 DRC-01 /156 W

----- 124554

O R 221400Z JUN 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6630

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 158

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXENBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

CINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 3985

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS-JUNE 17-21

SUMMARY: THE SOVIETS CONTINUED THEIR EFFORTS TO  
REVITALIZE THE CONFERENCE, TRYING TO CAPITALIZE ON  
THE MINOR CONCESSIONS MADE LST WEEK. THEY AGAIN IN-  
CREASED THEIR PROPOSED FIGURE FOR TIME OF ADVANCE  
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NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MANEUVERS--FROM 7 TO 10 DAYS.

YUGOSLAVS, CYPRIOTS, AND MALTESE ANNOUNCED THEY WOULD PRESENT A MORE AMBITIOUS DRAFT FOR A CSCE DECLARATION ON THE MEDITERRANEAN, AND A MEDITERRANEAN WORKING GROUP WAS ESTABLISHED. ENVIRONMENT SUBCOMMITTEE COMPLETED ITS WORK AND ADJOURNED. END SUMMARY

1. GENERAL SITUATION--CANADIAN REP READ PORTIONS OF NATO MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE RELATING TO CSCE TO COORDINATING COMMITTEE AS INDICATED OF CONTINUING NEGATIVE WESTERN APPRAISAL OF OVERALL CSCE SITUATION, AND SPECULATION CONTINUED AS TO THE FUTURE CALENDAR OF STAGE II NEGOTIATIONS. MANY WESTERN DELEGATIONS THROUGH STAGE II SHOULD RECESS FOR THE SUMMARY ON JULY 12, AT THE END OF ITS PRESENT WORK SCHEDULE, EVEN THOUGH THE SOVIETS ARE ADVOCATING CONTINUATION UNTIL THE COMPLETION OF STAGE II. THE GENERAL TENDENCY WAS TOWARD A LIMITED EXTENSION OF THE PRESENT SCHEDULE, IF THERE IS ENOUGH PROGRESS TO WARRANT IT. MEANWHILE, THE FIRST SOVIET ALLUSIONS TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A THIRD STAGE IN THE AUTUMN BEGAN TO APPEAR.

2. THE MEDITERRANEAN--YUGOSLAVS, CYPRIOTS, AND MALTESE ANNOUNCED THAT THEY WOULD CIRCULATE SHORTLY THEIR DRAFT OF A CSCE DECLARATION ON THE MEDITERRANEAN, WHICH WILL EVIDENTLY BE CONSIDERABLY MORE AMBITIOUS THAN LAST WEEK'S ITALIAN DRAFT. YUGOSLAV REP INDICATED THE PAPER BETWEEN STATES TO THE MEDITERRANEAN AREA, AND WOULD BE THE BASIS FOR A CONTINUING DIALOGUE WITH NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN COUNTRIES. SOVIETS INDICATED THEY DID NOT OBJECT IN PRINCIPLE TO A SEPARATE DOCUMENT ON THE MEDITERRANEAN, AND A MEDITERRANEAN WORKING GROUP WAS ESTABLISHED TO EXAMINE THE TWO DRAFTS, AND ANY OTHER MATERIAL WHICH MAY BE INTRODUCED ON THE MEDITERRANEAN.

3. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--SUBCOMMITTEE ON PRINCIPLES CONTINUED DISCUSSION OF NON-INTERVENTION PRINCIPLE AND YUGOSLAV LANGUAGE SPELLING OUT LESS DIRECT FORMS OF INTERVENTION. YUGOSLAVS DROPPED INSISTENCE ON MENTION OF HOSTILE PROPAGANDA AND INTERVENTION

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IN CIVIL STRIFE AND, AS BASIS FOR COMPROMISE, SIGNALLED ACCEPTANCE OF FORMULATION REFERRING TO SUBVERSIVE OR OTHER ACTIVITIES DIRECTED AGAINST THE VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF THE REGIME OF ANOTHER PARTICIPATING STATE. MEANWHILE, INTENSIVE INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS FOCUSED ON POSSIBILITY OF CONSIDERING NEW FINNISH SENTENCE IN SOVEREIGN EQUALITY PRINCIPLE. SENTENCE CALLS ON STATES TO RESPECT THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL FOUNDATIONS OF OTHER

STATES WAS WELL AS THEIR RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR LEGISLATIVE AND REGULATORY SYSTEMS. FINNS EXPLAINED THAT SENTENCE SHOULD BE CONSIDERED WITH THEIR RECENTLY TABLED PROPOSAL FOR A BASKET III PREAMBLE, AND THAT TAKEN TOGETHER THESE TEXTS WERE INTENDED TO PROVIDE A MEANS OF BREAKING THE PRESENT CONFERENCE IMPASSE. NEUTRALS AND WESTERN DELS AT WEEK'S END WERE NOT IN AGREEMENT AS TO WHETHER TO DRAFT SUCH A SENTENCE NOT OR LEAVE IT FOR LATER RESOLUTION. CONSULTATIONS ALSO CENTERED AROUND WHAT CONCESSIONS WOULD BE DEMANDED FROM SOVIETS FOR INCLUSION OF THIS SENTENCE. IN THE SPECIAL WORKING BODY DRAFTING PROCEEDED SLOWLY ON A POST-CONFERENCE MANDATE TO STUDY A SYSTEM OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES, AND SWISS SHOWED NO SIGNS OF COMPROMISE ON COMPULSORY SYSTEM.

4. MILITARY SECURITY--IN MAJOR PRESENTATION JUNE 18 SOVIETS OUTLINED THEIR VIEWS ON CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES (CBM'S), ALLOWING THAT TIME FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS MIGHT BE 10 DAYS INSTEAD OF THEIR PREVIOUS POSITION OF 7 DAYS. INCLUSIVE SUBCOMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS CENTERED ON SOVIET INSISTENCE THAT SUCH EXCHANGE TAKE PLACE ONLY "MAJOR" MILITARY MANEUVERS. DRAFTING OF A NEW TEXT UNDER PARAGRAPH 24 OF THE HELSINKI RECOMMENDATIONS PRECIPITATED A TWO-DAY DEBATE BETWEEN FRANCE AND USSR OVER SUCH ISSUES AS WHETHER OR NOT AN ARMS RACE EXISTS, AND TO WHAT EXTENT THE CSCE DOCUMENT SHOULD REFER TO MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. CONSENSUS EMERGED FOR A BLAND FORMULATION IN WHICH BOTH ISSUES WERE OBSCURED. NATO CAUCUS DEALT AT LENGTH WITH PROPOSALS FOR A RESPONSE TO THE TWO MINOR SOVIET CONCESSIONS ON TIME AND AREA FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS. MOST CONFIDENTIAL

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ALLIED DELEGATIONS FAVOR REDUCING THE TIME FOR PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MANEUVERS FROM 60 TO 50 DAYS AND INCREASING THE THRESHOLD FOR NOTIFICATION FROM 10,000 MEN TO 12,000. AS YET THERE IS NO FINAL AGREEMENT ON THE SUBSTANCE OR TIMING OF THE NATO RESPONSE.

5. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY, ENVIRONMENT -- FULL COMMITTEE REMAINED DEADLOCKED OVER WHETHER TO HAVE A REFERENCE TO "DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THOSE IN EUROPE " IN THE BASKET II PREAMBLE; TURKEY, WITH NATO SUPPORT, FAVORS, AND SOVIET BLOC OPPOSES. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES CONTINUED WORK ON BUSINESS CONTACTS BUT FAILED TO REACH FINAL AGREEMENT ON A KEY PARAGRAPH BECAUSE OF CONTINUING CZECH INSISTENCE THAT ACTIONS BE IN ACCORDANCE WITH EXISTING LAWS

AND REGULATIONS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION MADE GOOD PROGRESS, REGISTERING TEXTS CONCERNING IMPROVING THE QUALITY AND QUANTITY OF INFORMATION RELEVANT TO INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION, INCLUDING FOREIGN EXCHANGE REGULATIONS, AND ENCOURAGING ALL FORMS OF EXCHANGES OF INFORMATION RELEVANT TO INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION, SUCH AS CONTACTS BETWEEN PORTENTIAL PARTNERS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED ALL TEXTS CONCERNING RECOMMENDATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS EXCEPT FOR PARAGRAPH DEALING WITH UNISIST, WHICH IS STILL UNDER DISCUSSION. ENVIRONMENT SUBCOMMITTEE COMPLETED ITS WORK AND ADJOURNED, WITH UNDERSTANDING THAT IT COULD BE RECONVENED IF THE NEED ARISES.

6. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- IN BOTH FORMAL AND INFORMAL SESSIONS OF FULL COMMITTEE SOVIETS SHOWED LITTLE INTEREST IN GENUINE DRAFTING ON BASKET III PREAMBLE, BUT CONTINUED TO CALL FOR SPECIFIC REFERENCES TO NON-INTERFERENCE AND RESPECT FOR SOVEREIGNTY, LAWS AND CUSTOMS. IN HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE THE KEY PAPER ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION LANGUISHED AS THE EC-9 RAN INTO INTERNAL PROBLEMS IN GETTING THE FRG TO CLEAR A POSSIBLE COMPROMISE TEXT. DISCUSSION MOVED ON TO PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL TRAVEL WITH SURPRISING SOVIET RESISTANCE TO A MILD BELGIAN PAPER. IN INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE SOVIETS HELD FIRM TO THEIR MINIMAL TEXT ON ACCESS TO CONFIDENTIAL

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PRINTED INFORMATION, AND COMPROMISE EFFORTS FLOUNDERED. AS IN HUMAN CONTACTS, DISCUSSION MOVED TO THE NEXT TOPIC, EXCHANGES OF INFORMATION, ESSENTIALLY AN EASTERN SUBJECT. IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE, EAST CONTINUED TO STONEWALL ON KEY ISSUE OF ACCESS TO CULTURAL WORKS, INVOLVING ESTABLISHMENT OF LIBRARIES AND READING ROOMS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, HOWEVER, MADE SOME PROGRESS, AND SOVIETS MADE CONDITIONAL CONCESSION ON US-SUPPORTED PROPOSAL TO FACILITATE PARTICIPATION OF SCIENTISTS IN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND SYMPOSIA.

7. COMMENT: WITH THE OTTAWA MINISTERIAL COMMUNIQUE CLEARLY OUTLINING THE JOINT WESTERN VIEW OF THE CONFERENCE, DELEGATIONS HERE LOOKED FORWARD TO THE MOSCOW SUMMIT WITH A MIXTURE OF APPREHENSION AND HOPE. IT SEEMED CLEAR THAT BREZHNEV WOULD PRESS THE PRESIDENT TO JOIN HIM IN MOVING TO BRING THE CONFERENCE TO A QUICK CONCLUSION. THE KEY TO SUCH AN EFFORT WOULD BE A FIRM COMMITMENT FROM THE PRESIDENT ON TIMING AND LEVEL OF STAGE III, AND NATO ALLIES AND NEUTRALS WERE UNANIMOUS IN HOPING THE PRESIDENT WOULD UNDERTAKE NO COMMITMENTS OF THIS KIND. ON THE OTHER HAND, MOST

WESTERN DELEGATIONS REALIZED THAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE  
UNITED STATES IS BETTER PLACED THAN ANYONE ELSE TO  
OBTAIN FROM THE SOVIETS THOSE CONCESSIONS ON BASKET  
III AND MILITARY SUBJECTS WHICH ARE ESSENTIAL IF  
WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE TO JUDGE CSCE A SUCCESS. THERE  
IS NO DOUBT THAT THE WESTERN GROUP HOPES FOR AND  
EXPECTS THE PRESIDENT TO MAKE AN EFFORT IN THIS  
DIRECTION. END COMMENT DALE

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## Message Attributes

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